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ABSTRACT

The nature and extent of the problems involved in the socialization of mixed-race children of American servicemen and Korean women is discussed. Observations and interviews find these factors significant in constituting the social marginality of such children: (a) the stigma of illegitimacy, (b) the mothers' undesirable occupational status (prostitution), (c) children's economic and educational deprivation, and (d) physical differences, expecially color of hair and skin. Amero-Korean children are racial hybrids, but not cultural hybrids, for they are socialized in the relatively homogeneous Korean culture and have no alternate course but to become part of the in-group. The often disastrous effect (of being racially hybrid) on children's self-image and emotional develcpment is discussed. These children have rarely been adopted in Korea, largely because of cultural attitudes favoring kinship lineage and because of social apathy. A multi-dimensional solution to the problem is proposed, which involves an underlying attitudinal change on the part of the Korean people, integration of these children into society, pooling of welfare institution resources, and a stronger government role in child welfare. Tables are included of the status of hybrid children in Korea, and of intercountry adoption. (NH)

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MARGINAL CHILDREN OF WAR: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF AMERICAN-KOREAN CHILDREN*

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This study is to explore the nature and extent of the probelms involved in the socialization of the so-called mixed-race children of American service men and Korean women. Research questions are formulated by accentuating the significant elements of the marginal man concept and recasting the existing theories on social marginality. Through exploratory observations, interviews and analyses, some of the past general assumptions are brought into focus for the development of specific hypotheses. Domestic adoption is considered as the most adequate means to ameliorate the problems. For the future research and possible amelioration, implications are made in the conclusion.

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INITIAL INQUIRY: POPULAR ASSUMPTIONS AND REALITY

There are perennial myths and untested propositions concerning the persons of hybrid racial and cultural backgrounds, ranging from biological to sociocultural spheres.[1] Some are merely descriptive but many of them try to explain the social statuses and personality characteristics of these

individuals with value implications -- advantageous or disadvantageous. Specifically, these dichotomous dimensions concerning the so-called Amerasian children may be characterized by the following statements:

1. Disadvantageous

   Mixed-race children will never be accepted into Korean society. Even the youngsters, themselves, are conscious of the difference. At a very early age they seem to sense that something is wrong [Holt 1956:26].

   The Koreans keep saying they have never had a race problem, and they're not going to have one now [Holt 1956:119].

   All of these children have it bad. But those who have it the worst are Negro Amerasians, who are doubly outcasts in Asia [McDowell 1966].

2. Advantageous

   It has been reported that the characteristics of the mixed-blood children are represented by sound and healthy physical development; high capacities in sport and art ... [Kanzaki 1959].

   ... the Korean Ambassador said to me in Washington one day, "that there are more of these children than anyone knows. I must tell you that they are superior to our children." "Superior to ours, too," I replied [Buck 1967].

> The funny thing is that these Amerasian kids seem to be more alert, more aware, more intellectually curious than their classmates [McDowell 1966].

Past genetic, psychological and sociological studies indicate the following regarding the hybridization of different "races" and cultures:

1. Human genetic dimension: There is no evidence that racial hybridization or miscegenation is biologically disadvantageous (Shapiro 1952, 1965). Many physical anthropologists even noted that the hybridization is often accompanied by increased hybrid vigor or "heterosis" (cf. Ashley Montagu 1942: 97-130; Dobzahnsky 1962, 1967; Dunn and Dobzahnsky 1963; Hulse 1964: 54-56; Wallace 1963). This means "the condition, as a result of hybridization, in which the offspring exceed both parents in size, fecundity, resistance or other adaptive qualities" (Ashley Montagu 1960: 400; cf. Beals and Hoijer 1965: 247; Simpson and Yinger 1965: 40; Spuhler 1967).[2]

2. Psychological dimension: In general, there is no relation between "race" and psychology (Klineberg 1951; cf. Schwidetzky 1961, 1962). Specifically there is no conclusive evidence that racial hybridization produce either superior or inferior intelligence, ability, personality and temperament. Rather, "the effects of race-mixture," as Otto Klineberg pointed out, "are neither good nor bad in themselves; they depend on

the quality of the individuals who have entered into the mixture, and on the manner in which the hybrid is accepted or treated by the community as a whole" (Klineberg 1951:28).

3. Socio-ethnological dimension: The horizon of sociological and ethnological findings on this subject is too broad to summarize in this limited space. Indeed, it encompasses the topics of marginal man, acculturation, assimilation, race and ethnic relations, social stratification, social movement, etc. Further, some of these phenomena are considered as social "problems" in many societies in various ways. In the United States, for instance, the social consequence of "racial" hybridization has generally been regarded unfavorable (Simpson and Yinger 1965:365-387; Gordon 1964; Barron 1948). Many so-called family-sociologists imply homogamy as an important factor for "successful" marriage (cf. Landis and Landis 1968; Womble 1966; Burgess et al 1966; Baber 1953), the intergroup and social problems specialists frequently point out the dysfunctional aspects of the so-called mixed marriages (cf. Berry 1965; Simpson and Yinger 1965; Cavan 1953).

Analytical sociologists and ethnologists have extensively studied the precarious social position and ambivalant roles of marginal man within the various patterns of sociocultural structures and interethnic contacts (cf. Mühlmann 1961, 1962; Merton 1964).[3] In the light of reference group theory Merton sensitized the problematic relationship between an aspirant

non-member (marginal man) and his anticipatory socialization within a relatively immobile soical structure (1964:291). Through cross-cultural and phenomenological perspectives Mühlmann analyzed the problems of ethnic marginality in relation to the recent nativistic and chiliastic movements (1961). Ethnosociological relevance of the above phenomena becomes paramount today when the world experiences ever-growing complexity of interethnic relations and problems.

Socialpsychologists bring out the "marginal personal characteristics" of the hybrid generations; such as the fear of rejection and failure, attitudinal ambivalance, hypersensitivity, etc. (cf. Klineberg 1944:330-357; Kerckhoff and McCormick 1955; Shibutani 1961:574-581). Among the various approaches the ethnosociological and socialpsychological perspectives on social marginality and marginal man seem most relevant to the study of socialization patterns of Amero-Korean children.

The original concept of marginal man advanced by Park (1928) and Stonequist (1937) has been criticised by some scholars due to: (1) its lack of clarity in explaining the nature of the relationship between the objectively ascribed precarious social status and the subjectively experienced feeling of marginality (cf. Goldberg 1941; Green 1947; Kerckhoff and McCormick 1955; Schermerhorn 1964); and (2) its lack of rigorous formulation or "failure of conceptual differentiation," for "it does not lent itself to statistical nor even differential case-study analysis" (Green 1947). On the relationship between marginal

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status and marginal personality characteristics Kerckhoff and McCormick demonstrated the need for conceptual reformulation of social marginality by an empirical study, and their following re-conceptualization is particularly pertinent to the present study:

> The marginal man is one who has internalized the norms of a particular group (thus it is his reference group) but he is not completely recognized by others as being a legitimate member of that group (thus it is not his membership group). As long as this relationship prevails, his role in countless situations will be ill-defined (or defined in one way by him and in another by those about him), and he will suffer the effects of uncertainty, ambivalance, and the fear of rejection and failure [1955:50].

On the question of conceptual differentia specifica of marginal man; "that the marginal man concept has an indifferent status as a scientific formulation" (Green 1947:168), the argument seems to underestimate, however, the heuristic value of the marginal man concept in partucular and ideal-type analysis method in general. As Lockwood (1964) and Schutz (1962) indicated, the high level of abstractions such as homo economicus, pariah, charisma, concentric-zone theory, etc. are irreducible to simple nomothetic generalizations or statistical hypotheses.[4] Certainly, the marginal personality characteristics are not confined to hybrid generations; and

not all hybrids develop a uniform set of marginal psychological traits. However, as Kerckhóff and McCormick (1955) correctly indicated, the development of a certain salient set of psychological traits (marginal personality characteristics) within a group of persons occupying a precarious social position (marginal status) remain as a significant tendency or recurrent phenomenon at least (cf. Berry 1965:286). This significant element needs to be brought into focus through constructive typology before an attempt at development of any specific hypothesis can be made (cf. McKinney 1966). So may the "marginal man" be treated as an ideal-type for analytical purposes, rather than as an immediately testable specific hypothesis.

Based on the above exploration, Merton's recasting of the marginal man concept is considered the most adequate analytical tool for the present study:

> The marginal man pattern represents the special case in a relatively closed social system, in which the members of one group take as a positive frame of reference the norms of a group from which they are excluded in principle. Within such a social structure, anticipatory socialization becomes dysfunctional for the individual who becomes the victim of aspirations he cannot achieve and hopes he cannot satisfy [1964:266].

Reflecting the above the following specific questions are formulated as initial inquiries into the problematic situation of Amero-Korean children:

1. Is the general social situation of Amero-Korean children marginal (both objective ascription and subjective experience)?

2. If so, is this marginal situation a social problem or becoming such in Korea?

3. If it is a problem, what are the nature, extent and underlying causes?

4. To what extent have ameliorative attempts been made, and what are the main difficulties yet to overcome?

MARGINAL CHILDREN: DEFINITION AND EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM

The term "marginal children of war" in this study refers to the children born to Korean women and the United States military men stationed in Korea since 1945. Nearly all of them were born out of wedlock, and their fathers' names and whereabouts are unknown. The designated term for these children in Korean official statistics is honhyl-a (literally, mixed-blood children).[5] TABLES 1 and 2 show the offical statistics on the number of the children; however, except adoption data, all figures lack accuracy and validity due to the census difficulties. The Ministry of Health and Social Affairs,

Republic of Korea compiled the statistics based on the voluntarily supplied information by local administrative branches throughout the country. Moreover, this information was not derived from birth registration records but a simple hunch made by local community members. For vital statistics compiled by the government, the term injong (race) has had no entry. The term kukjok (nationality) has been used to compile the data of aliens regardless of race.[6]

Most of the Amero-Korean children have been registered by their mothers' surnames without any racial designation. Due to this registration practice no adequate inference can be made regarding the exact number of Amero-Korean children. Through interviews with the professionals on various levels, the author is inclined to agree with the estimate made by Chakerian who places the figure at about 6,000.[7] The prevailing arguments concerning the estimated number, "all the way from a questionable low of 2,500 to a fantastically high figure of 80,000," is fruitless, for there has been no empirical measurement made to support the data (Chakerian 1968:30). However, the most "underestimated" governmental statistics may be used to glimpse the general trend in the number of Amero-Korean children throughout the past decade: the number of the children has steadily been increasing, the number of Korean prostitutes indicates a upward trend, and also the number of American-Korean marriages

has been increasing (from 242 in 1956 to 1,677 in 1966).[8] It is probable, therefore, the number of these "mixed-race" children will increase, if the past tendencies persist.[9]

The increase in the number of the racial hybrids alone, however, does not necessarily constitute a social problem unless the undesirable social condition of the hybrids is growing, and this condition is considered as corrigible by the majority of the Korean population (cf. Chakerian 1968). This undesirable social condition is the social marginality of the hybrid children which is not only dysfunctional for their anticipatory socialization but also becomes problematic for the general welfare of the country. The problematic nature of this marginality has been indicated by the public concern (through mass media)[10], collective attempts (governmental ameliorative projects), and social action (public and private child welfare practices).

FACTORS CONSTITUTING MARGINALITY: ASCRIPTION AND DERIVATION

Through exploratory observations and interviews the following ascribed criteria are found to be most significant in constituting the social marginality of Amero-Korean children. According to the degree of significance they may be listed as follows:

1. Illegitimacy -- the social stigma attached to the children of illegitimate birth. The notion of the "fatherless child" is

traditionally a crucial reason for social condemnation in the patriarchal and patrilineal society.[11]

2. Mothers' undesirable occupational statuses -- the mother's previous or present occupation as yang sekshi (literally, a prostitute engaged with American soldiers) reinforces the intensity of social stigma branded to the children (cf. Pak 1965; Buck 1964, 1966).

3. Economic and educational deprivation -- Derived from the mother's lower socioeconomic status, most of the marginal children are deprived from the "normal" socialization conditions furnished to their reference group. They are either simply abondoned or institutionalized as war-orphans, or "G. I. babies." Even though some of them are under the custody of their mothers and relatives, they all have difficulties in getting access to and maintaining formal education due to poverty. Ridicule and teasing by their Korean peers at school are common complaints expressed by Amero-Korean school children.[12] Many dropped out from the school because of this social ostracism.

4. Visibility -- a symbol of shame, disgrace and undesirable. Physical differences (especially color of skin and hair) became symbolic stigma and a target of ridicule and discrimination. The Negroid-Koreans in particular, and the racial hybrids in general, emerged as a new visible "abnormal" phenotype which stands out among the people of the so-called tanil minjok (single race) nation.[13] To the majority of the Koreans this new marginal group is a symbol of shame, disgrace and tragedy.

As Holt correctly pointed out; "Because of the difference in appearance, everyone knows what has happened" (1956:70). The "what has happened" does not mean only the past shame committed by the mothers (prostitution with "foreign soldiers" and illegitimacy) but also it implies "what is happening" and "what will happen" to the children (non-membership ascription, ridicule, and precarious future life-chance). This type of pariah is a new phenomenon in the 4,000 years of Korean history.[14]

The verbal attack manifesting this is reflected by the post-war ethnophaulisms, such as twigi (the twisted), yankee seki (Yankee bastard), norang mori (yellow head), komdong-i (blacky), etc.[15] Even among the marginal children there exists a gradient of color preference (lighter skin color over dark). This phenomenon is evidenced by the adoption preference for Caucasoid-Korean children over Negroid-Korean children, and the large number of Negroid-Korean children remaining in the orphanages (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs 1967). In Japan also this gradient seems to exist: "... a mixed-blood child with obvious Negroid features suffers by far the most pronounced social discrimination" (Trumbull 1967). This phenomenon may primarily be attributed to the traditional cultural influence on visual perception of skin color in the Oriental societies, with preference given to "white skin" as one of the standards of woman's beauty.[16] However, the trans-cultural attributes from the United States -- the carry-over

of the white's stereotype about the black Americans -- cannot be ignored. A striking evidence of this cultural carry-over is the existence of a prestige gradient among the Korean prostitutes based on the racially segregated association (i.e. the prostitutes dealing with the white versus those with the black soldiers).[17] In addition to skin color, the color of hair is another preference differential. It may seem strange to the Westerners, but the Koreans generally prefer dark straight hair. Thus the term "yellow head" refers to hair and not skin pigmentation. The cultural influence on visual perception of color by the Koreans is by no means consistent with their Western counterparts (cf. Segall et al 1966): for instance, the Koreans had never been aware their own skin was "colored" or "yellow" until the Westerners cointed the words, such as "yellow race", "yellow peril," "Gelbgefahr," etc. Even the term "white man" (bakin) was borrowed from the Occident. Customarily, they referred to all other ethnic groups in terms of geographic or national designations, such as soyang-in (man of the Occident), Americans, or simply wekuk-in (foreigners). Ethnocenrism has always prevailed in Korea throughout her past dynasties, but the diffusion of racism is a very recent phenomenon -- coming in fact, from the West. [18]

Derived from such an ill-defined biographic antecedents, the marginal children tend to develop a pattern of problematic psychological traits when they identify closely with their Korean peers and with the main stream of Korean society from

which "they are excluded in principle" as being a visible illegitimate membership group. It is not to say, as mentioned earlier, that all children occupying such a precarious social position develop such traits. However, since the Amero-Korean children are socialized in a relatively homogeneous Korean culture or at least anticipated to internalize the norms of their "host society" as a positive frame of reference, they have no alternative recourse to identify themselves unless they develop their own distinctive culture or attempt to identify with the main stream of American life through genetic affinity. The Amero-Koreans are not cultural hybrids, and their marginality patterns are much different from those of American Jews, Amerindians, Italian immigrants or Japanese Niseis in the United States. To some extent the Amero-Koreans' marginal situation may be comparable to the American Mulattos', and yet neither all American Mulattos are "fatherless" children of prostitutes nor is the structure of their "host society" similar to the Amero-Koreans'. Furthermore, the Amero-Koreans have no alternative recourse of becoming "in-groupers" of their own kind with accentuated group consciousness, such as "Black American", or for similar sensitizing group indentiy, such as the Cape Colored of South Africa or Eurasians of India (cf. Hughes 1949).

In such an extremely precarious situation discussed above, the Amero-Korean children have the maximum probability of becoming the victims of their own aspirations which they have

learned to visualize through the mirror of their Korean reference groups; but the children find themselves repeatedly on the margin of their host society as if they were uninvited guests, déraciné, or strangers (Simmel 1908; Stonequist 1937; Wood 1934; Shibutani 1961; Merton 1964:262-275; Schutz 1964: 91-105). As early as at the age of four, a marginal child becomes a target of ridicule by his Korean peers and is beginning to confront a dilemma of ego identity (cf. Goodman 1964; Erikson 1968; Stevenson and Stewart 1958). His "abnormal" physical appearance tends to invite the attention of "normal" others, usually accompanied by verbal attacks and actual discrimination associated with symbols of shame, disgrace, poverty, and undesirable (cf. Lambert and Klineberg 1967:68-73; Erikson 1963:262).

In this social milieu a marginal child is most likely to develop a higher and sharper awareness about his physical difference than his "normal" peers. Since he sees his "abnormality" through the eyes of the majorty group (Korean peers) he does not become only hypersensitive or uncertain about his relationship to others, but also tends to develop a negative self-image (or self-hatred), or in some cases an antagonistic attitude toward his significant others (including his own mother), and even strong resentment against his anonymous father (cf. Goodman 1964:258-259; Scheler 1961; Kim 1967).

As he advances in his age toward maturity, he realizes the growing disparity between his aspired goal and actual life-chance. The rising level of aspirations tends to intensify the degree of anxiety. To him, his social distance from the main stream becomes more visible and the effects of discrimination in concrete situations unbearable (e.g. occupation, marriage, etc.). The harder he struggles to identify with his non-membership group, the more progressive becomes his alienation. In short, his marginal existence becomes a problem to himself. He is one of the modern "Chandalas" of war and poverty in the developing nations involved in ideological struggles (Mühlmann 1961, 1966:9-11; Danckert 1963:276).

In order to resolve their conflicts some of these marginal children of war may resort to transference of their their reference groups (e.g. from Korean to American), some may attempt to create a new collective identity of their own, or some may "reject both alternatives in an effort to escape the problem situation" and become apathetic (Kerckhoff and McCormick 1955). Another possible derivation would be modification as Shibutani indicated; "Some may resolve their conflicts by becoming specialists who use their unusual position to advantage"(1961:577). Social psychological derivations of this kind among the so-called deprived have long been studies by many scholars; in terms of pariah-motive (Weber 1920-23; Mühlmann 1961, 1966), externalproletariat (Toynbee 1958),

over-compensation (Stonequist 1937), need for achievment (Murray 1938; McClelland 1953, 1961), achievement syndrome (Rosen 1959), defence mechanism (Goodman 1964), etc. Recently Kanzaki (1959) noted also the Amero-Japanese children exhibited high achievement motives in some specific activities, such as in sports, arts and music (cf. Trumbull 1967).

Although the above traits or "syndromes" need to be studied by carefully designed tests and measurements, the results of a study conducted by the Child Placement Service and exploratory interviews with the children enabled the author to draw these as considerably sifnificant tendencies among the Amero-Korean children in Seoul.[19] A detailed description of a case study would also illustrate some crucial points mentioned above, but space does not permit details. Briefly, it is a case of a girl who was born to a Korea women and an American colonel at Kwang-ju, Korea in 1952. Presently the girl lives with her mother in a two-room house in a deteriorated section of South Seoul. Her father's identification is unknown, and she was registered in her mother's surname. The primary financial support comes from her mother's brother who is in the Korean army. The mother is unemployed, and the subject's tuition is supplemented by the Child Placement Service (approximately 15 dollars per month). According to the school record the girl's past scholarstic achievements have been excellent and her occupational aspirations are high (physician).

The subject's surface problem seems to be mainly a financial one at the present, for her uncle's support is insufficient and irregular. However, the deeply rooted problems are concerned with her prospective place in her host society. It is most unlikely that she can afford a college education or marry a respectable Korean. With her double stigmata (illegitimacy and racial hybrid) her life-chances for upward social mobility (either through hypergamy or higher education) are limited. With her limted life-chances this potential child will be exposed to the danger of repeating the life pattern of her mother or of the pariahs who have had a similar life history with her (cf. Pak 1965). As ECLAIR (Eurasian Children Living As Indigenous Residents) indicated, "For girls with but little education and no legal family ties, marriage is almost impossible and legitimate job opportunities are nil. It is almost inevitable that they should become prostitutes" (1966). The girl and her mother expressed that it would be better if the girl leaves Korea for the United States. Moreover, it is the author's observation that the subject is already keenly ware of her marginal social position. Her feelings of insecurity, hypersensitivity, and withdrawal symptoms were observable during the interview.

The foregoing analysis has given some tentative answers to the initial inquiries from (1) to (3) listed in the first section of this paper. The final question regarding the

ameliorative attempts and difficulties is yet to be explored.

AMELIROATIVE ATTEMPTS AND DIFFICULTIES

A number of attempts have been made by the governmental and private welfare agencies to alleviate the conditions (cf. Chakerian 1962, 1963, 1966; Buck 1964). There have been three major approaches: (1) inter-country adoption; (2) institutional care; and (3) domestic adoption. Each has its own merits and limitations set by multi-dimensional factors.[20] A brief summary is as follows:

1. Inter-conutry adoption. This measure is considered as the most desirable by the Korean government and also by the private agencies concerned.[21] From 1955 to 1966, 3,727 children of mixed parentage were adopted by American families (see TABLE 2). This averages approximately 300 per year brought to the United States. Along with the "mixed-race children" 2,566 Korean orphans were adopted also by American families. Thus, the United States alone has been adopting approximately 600 children from Korea since 1955. Comparing this figure with other countries (such as Sweden, Norway, Japan, etc.) the United States has virtually been the only country where the inter-country adoption was feasible (97 per cent). The agencies responsible for this adoption are many; however, the Holt Adoption Program, Inc. has alone been sharing over 50 per

cent of the past inter-country adoption rate (3,469 out of 6,293).

But there are over-all problems concerning inter-country adoption. First, the adoption rate is not accelerating. The rate dropped drastically in 1962 (from 361 in the previous year to 158), and has since been in an annual status quo of approximately 200. Disregarding the future growth rate of Amero-Korean children, this means it would take at least seven years to bring the existing Amero-Korean children (1,403 according to government statistics) into the United States. If one takes Buck's estimate (50,000) it would take 250 years, and based on Chakerian's estimate (6,000) it would take 30 years. Moreover, as previously mentioned, it appears that the number of Amero-Korean children is on the increase, although no one knows the exact birth rate.[22] Second, there have been preferential adoption patterns based on "race" and sex (cf. Pfaffenberger 1956:36; Petties 1958).[23] The preferential gradient has been as follows: (1) Caucasoid-Korean female; (2) Caucasoid-Korean male; (3) Korean female; (4) Korean male; (5) Negroid-Korean female; (6) Negroid-Korean male.[24] This indicates the perennial problem of the Negro-pariah. Third, red tape involved in immigration sets the limitations of inter-country adoption, and in some cases, mothers of the children have been reluctant to send their children abroad even if there were possibilities (Chakerian 1968: 31). As Chakerian says, "No matter what is done, most of the

children are bound to remain in Korea" (1968:31).

2. Institutional care. Limitations in institutional care for the Amero-Korean children are also determined by the overall child welfare problems in the country. These problems have been intensified since Korean War. During the last decade the number of abondoned and vagrant children increased about 10 times, and now approximately 70,000 children are accommodated by 600 institutions (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs 1967[b]: 4). These institutions are largely operated by private organizations (e.g. church affiliated orphanages), and only five of them are government operated (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs 1966:23). According to statistics, approximately 200 out of 277 institutionalized Amero-Korean children are under the custody of one privately sponsored orphanage, The Holt Adoption Program (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs 1967[b]:12).

The basic problem in this area seems to be the lack of well-coordinated programs among the private and public welfare agencies for maximum efficiency. Since the national government spends or can afford to spend only 2.5 per cent of its entire national budget for social welfare (in contrast to 29 per cent for national defence)[25], the prepnderent growth of private institutions (from 38 in 1945 to 591 in 1967) seems inevitable (Korea National Council of Social Welfare 1967:59; Ministry of Health and Social Affairs 1967[b]:4; Chakerian 1968:40, 42). However, the pooling of diverse resources for a concerted

collective effort - beyond petty vested interest and provincialism - is most desirable.

Child welfare is one of the mottos promulgated by the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs as an urgent social policy.[26] The following is an outline set by the national government concerning the welfare of Amero-Korean children: (1) governmental support for inter and domestic adoptions through social service agencies (e.g. ECLAIR, CPS, etc.); (2) provision of maximum welfare facilitation for those who are not adopted or not adoptable (e.g. professional service, vocational training, administrative assistance, research activities, etc.); (3) integrated approach to child welfare and socialization as opposed to segregated institutional care and schools; (4) promotion of public attitude (e.g. mitigation of prejudice and discrimination, and emphasis on moral obligation for assimilation).[27]

But the practical implementation of the above policies has not been successful due to the paucity of government operated institutions and coordinated agencies. The latent problems are rooted deeper in the generic nature of social, cultural and economic structures of the country, rather than in the current contingent situations. Some of the manifested problems are: (1) financial difficulties, especially for institutional support, welfare assistance, administrative costs; (2) paucity of efficient research and administrative

man-power; (3) growing arena of other social problems (i.e. urban crime, juvenille delinquency, mental illness, suicide, polarization of the rich and the poor, political unrest, etc.);[28] (4) lack of public social conscience (materially oriented vested interest, ethnocentrism, clan and sectarian provincialism, social apathy, etc.); (5) lack of a comprehensive national social security act and over-all integrated system of welfare and service; (6) lag of social work education and neglect of sociological discipline.

The financial problems involved in social welfare are not unique problems to Korea, but the paucity of efficient research and administrative man-power has been a perennial drawback typical of a developing nation. There are only eight persons in the Child Section, Bureau of Women and Children, Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, who are primarily responsible for the planning and administration of the welfare of more than 15 million children in Korea (Republic of Korea 1967:4). The total budget allocated to the Bureau of Women and Children is less than 3 per cent out of the entire Ministry budget (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs 1966:4). An average employee in the Child Section receives approximately 8,000 hwan ($30) per month which cannot meet even the lowest subsistence minimum in the city of Seoul.[29] Every employee, except those who hold the higher positions with a side-income privilege, is faced with a constant subsistence threat and

exposed to the temptation of corruption. In this social climate, incentive to innovative planning and efficient administration or dynamic research is impossible to expect. There is a chronic viscious circle encompassing low budget and inadequate man-power. According to the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs there are 8,254 persons engaged in the national social welfare but only 915 persons are college graduates and less than a half of these graduates have been trained as social workers or educated as sociologists (cf. Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, 1967b:16). Traditionally (as in many other countries), social work has been regarded as a "do gooders" category and sociology as a study of "socialism" or even equated with Communism. There are only three universities (out of 12) which have sociology departments and four offer social work in Seoul. Even the most famous university in the nation, Seoul National University, with 11,000 students records only around 20 B. A. graduates in sociology annually. Even this educated minority in sociology cannot afford to be employeed by the Ministry. In this situation it is not surprising that most of the child welfare works are carried out by churches and church related agencies. The welfare of the Amero-Korean children is dependent upon this over-all development of the social situation.

3. Domestic adoption. From a sociological viewpoint the most adequate socialization of the Amero-Korean children is through domestic adoption, rather than institutionalization or even intercountry adoption; it accelerates the assimilation process of the marginal children as indigenous Koreans into the host social and cultural milieu, it mitigates existing stigma complexes and prejudice, and finally in the long run it is the most sound and effective method toward over-all alleviation of the problem of marginality and community welfare.[30] There is ample empirical evidence which supports improvement of intergroup or interpersonal relations by communication and integration, rather than isolation or segregation.[31] Segregation is only a convenient method of temporary postponement of intergroup tensions. Pfaffenberger observes the similar notion concerning the solution of the so-called Mischlingskinder problem in Germany (1956:35):

> If some of the children, because of the color of their skin, are kept outside for years, society will be deprived of the many opportunities to help them become accepted and integrated. In this way a problem is created for society which will become acute when some day these children as adolescents or adults will finally have to be accepted into this society after long years of artificial separation.

In Korea, however, domestic adoption has not been developed

due to the following reasons: (1) The closed system of adoption -- the intrakin or intrasib adoption. The adoption motive in Korea has traditionally been rooted in the idea of perpetuation of kinship lineage, not in an affectual or a philanthrophic level.[32] In the past only childless couples or son-less parents adopted a male child exclusively from consanguine kins (mostly patrilineal), and if a child is not available from this consanguine circle they sought a child at least in the circle of relatives or someone with the same surname (sib) in order to preserve patrilineage.[33] In this preferential system of adoption, orphans, abondoned children, and illegitimate children have rarely been adopted. The visible marginality of the Amero-Korean children makes them "the most unwanted children" in this closed system; (2) The lack of available and qualified parents. The so-called childless couples have been regarded as "unusual" in the sense that it is a "sin" against the couples' ancestors if they do not have a son, though this idea is slowly changing today. But still under unwritten law many a father can divorce his barren wife or maintain a concubine in order to have offspring. Even if a childless couple is willing to adopt an Amero-Korean child against the preferential adoption system, the next question would be the financial means to support and educate the added family member. Strangely enough, the upper-middle

class people are most conscious of status and prestige as it is interwoven with the yangban-complex.[34] In fact, these people are the ones who find their raison d'etre in the maintenance of lineage "purity." They would not give up their raison d'etre at the cost of charity or affection; (3) Evasion of issues and social apathy. Many Koreans think the "mixed-race" children are in fact "left-overs" of the U. N. Forces, and therefore, the childrens' welfare is not Korea's responsibility but American's or the United Nations'. For the Koreans, their own 70,000 orphans are the primary concern. Although some observers have dramatized Korean scapegoatism toward the Amero-Korean children to the unimaginable extent of infanticide and castrations, the Koreans have never exercized such physical scapegoat practices (cf. Buck 1968).[35] The problem is social ostracism which again involves the over-all development of child welfare; (4) Cumbersome bureaucratic process. As in many other countries, the red-tape involved in the legal process of adoption has discouraged many domestic adoptions.

Consequently, domestic adoption has not been carried out satisfactorily and the majority of children (1,264 out of 1,403 according to the government statistics) live with their mothers or under the temporary care of relatives. Many of these mothers are still engaged in pariah occupations, such

as prostitutes and bar maids, and the socialization of these children to the "normal" and proper Korean society is impossible to hope.

CONCLUSION: IMPLICATIONS FOR AMELIORATION

As indicated earlier, no social problem can be solved by a singular attack but rather by a multi-dimensional coordinated approach. The anticipatory socialization of the marginal children in Korea is a complexity of many visible and invisible problems, e.g. money, mind, and Korean cultural heritage. It is a Korean problem, for the majority of these children will live and share in the destiny of Korea regardless of their genetic relation to Americans. They are racially hybrids but they are culturally 100 per cent Koreans. Their marginality is given to them by the Korean people; they were not born with it nor created it. It is a sociological problem rather than a genetic problem. It is a problem of image rather than reality. From this perspective the first task is the over-all change in the attitudinal level toward the problem. This means it is a Korean problem per excellence which cannot be eliminated but needs to be solved. This calls for integrative large scale, domestic adoption and desegregated institutional care, but does not call for a segregated approach. As Pfaffenberger correctly says, "Segregation and prejudice form a vicious circle, they tend to enhance each other" (1956: 36).

Second, the problem needs to be solved in the context of the over-all Korean child welfare program. The problem should not be treated in isolation or as a "peculiar phenomenon" from other social welfare policies. The Amero-Korean children need to be treated like all other children. The problem is one of the manifested socio-psychogenic problems of the total society and its cultural heritage.

Third, for this integrative approach various welfare institutions need to cooperate and pool their resources and manpower to promote efficiency, rather than separate pockets of vested interest, hypocracy, and prestige. They should regard this coordination as a urgent necessity rather than compromising, giving in, or loosing face (cf. Hu 1944).

Fourth, the government should play an active role in the overall child welfare planning and execution, especially in the field of training efficient administrators, social workers and other professional personnels.[36] Recently, Korea's economic development accelerated rapidly, however, social welfare is lamentably legging (Thak 1967). The government should not consider social welfare as something like charity but as a urgent priority in the national life. The war against Communism does not depend upon military strengh alone, but also depends upon the living condition of all citizens. Korea's defence

budget is indispensible but the nation can achieve more from its present economic capacity,, if more coordinated and integral large scale welfare programs are carried out along with intensive research.

Finally, the public conscience needs to be strengthened on all levels of socialization and education. The image of "do gooders" or "socialism" concerning sociology and social work needs to be corrected. The marginal children problem is only one facet of the entire social problem. The problems involved in the socialization of these children originated on the Korean soil, developed in the Korean culture and now affect the Korean society. There is no other alternative than to solve it, rather than to eliminate it; but to solve it within the context of the Korean socioculture.

TABLE 1a. NUMBER OF HYBRID CHILDREN IN KOREA, 1955-1966*

YEAR	TOTAL
1955	439
1956	538
1957	355
1958	701
1959	1,023
1960	1,075
1961	1,354
1962	1,389
1963	1,463
1964	1,511
1965	1,378
1966	1,541

TABLE 1b. STATUS OF HYBRID CHILDREN IN KOREA, 1966*

	GENERAL HOME		ORPHANAGE		MATERNITY HOME		CLINIC		TOTAL		
	M.***	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	TOTAL
Caucasoid-Korean	470	544	82	97	1		1		553	544	1,097
Negroid-Korean	110	106	55	34	1				166	140	306
Others**	71	61	2	4					73	65	138
Total	651	613	139	135	2		1		792	749	1,541

*Source: Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, Republic of Korea. Child Welfare Statistics, Seoul, April 1967.

**Uncertain category including some Korean war-orphans.

***M. indicares male; F. inicates female.

TABLE 2a. INTERCOUNTRY ADOPTION, 1955-1966*
(By Nationalities)

	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	TOTAL
United States	59	668	485	922	737	627	655	244	439	441	421	392	6,090
Norway		3	1	5	1	6	3	2	3	8	3	6	41
Great Britain				1		2		1		3		1	8
Sweden				2	3	2	2	1		5	23	93	131
India						1				2			3
Japan							4	6		2	1	2	15
Ethiopia							1						1
New Zealand										1			1
Denmark											1		1
Italy											1		1
West Germany											1		1
Total													6,293

*Source: Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, Korea. Child Welfare Statistics, Seoul, April 1967.

TABLE 2b. INTERCOUNTRY ADOPTION, 1955-1966*
(By "Races")

	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	TOTAL
Caucasoid-Korean	43	467	283	396	289	184	325	127	169	203	178	224	2,888
Negroid-Korean	9	151	128	227	92	61	36	31	27	29	23	25	839
Others**	7	53	75	307	360	393	304	96	246	230	250	245	2,566
Total	59	671	486	930	741	638	665	254	442	462	451	494	6,293

TABLE 2c. INTERCOUNTRY ADOPTION, 1955-1966*
(By Agencies)

	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	TOTAL
Child Placement Service	34	363	83	249	170	136	65	63	65	63	90	156	1,537
N.C.W.C.***	14	34	29	31	41	26	17	22	28	25	35	30	332
H.A.P.		211	322	546	407	411	523	109	280	262	215	183	3,469
S.D.A.	11	63	47	42	32	18	18	10	9	25	11	14	300
I.S.S.			5	62	91	47	42	50	60	87	71	4o	555
K.S.S.											29	71	100

*Source: Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, Child Welfare Statistics, April 1967.
**Some Koreans orphans are included.
***National Catholic Welfare Conference; Holt Adoption Program; Seventh Day Adventist; International Social Service; Korea Social Service.

NOTES

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[1]It is trivial to enumerate here all the myths, from Arthur de Gobineau (1853-1855) to Carleton Putnam (1961). For details and comprehensive summaries, see Herskovits (1934); Klineberg (1935, 1951); Stonequist (1937); Ashley Montagu (1942); Thompson and Hughes (1958); Shapiro (1965); Simpson and Yinger (1965); Mühlmann (1968); Allen (1968); Tumin (1963).

[2]Heteroses among the hybrid plants (e.g. corns) and animals (e.g. Drosophila) have experimentally been demonstrated, however, in the crossing of contemporary human populations much more research needs to be done to support the "hybrid vigor" hypothesis (Ashley Montagu 1960:400; Thoday 1967a, 1967b; Stebbins 1963). At the present stage of human genetics it is most approriate to say: "In the case of man there is little evidence for either hybrid vigor or hybrid disharmony, and if they occur they are overshadowed by social and cultural phenomena" (Allen 1968). Cf. also Dobzahnsky 1967.

[3]For extensive reference and relevant concepts, cf. Durkheim's anomie (1897); Simmel's stranger (1908); Sumner's out-group (1906); Weber's Gastvolk (1922-23); Marx' Entfremdung (1953,1958); von Eickstedt's Sozialsymbiose (1929); Toynbee's external proletariat (1958); Danckert's unehrliche Leute (1963); Moore's preclusive group (1963); De Vos and Wagatsumas' invisible race or Eta (1966).

[4]In fact, many adequate hypotheses for sociological research have been derived from complex ideal-types accentuating the level of significance in social reality. See Merton's elucidation: "There is, in short, a clear and decisive difference between knowing how to test a battery of hypotheses and knowing the theory from which to derive hypotheses to be tested. It is my impression that current sociological training is more largely designed to make students understand the first than the second" (1964:87). Cf. also Mills 1961:215; Goode and Hatt 1952:52-67; Sorokin 1966:283-288.

[5]Cf. Konketsuji: Children of foreign military men (excluding the Chinese, Korean, Japanese Issei, and other Oriental descendants) and Japanese women (Kosei Koho 1953:1-5); Mischlingskinder: The children born to German women and "non-white" soldiers stationed in Germany (Pfaffenberger 1956:33).

[6]The number of resident aliens in Korea (1955): 21,855 representing 34 nationalities; the estimated number of U. S. soldiers in Korea (1963): approximately 50,000; the number of Korean Conflict vetrans (all services, U. S., 1945-1968): 5,814,000. Cf. Economic Planning Board 1961:23-24; Hakwon-sa 1963:167; Korea Week 1968.

[7]Chakerian did not indicate the basis of his estimate in detail; my estimate is based on the following criteria: (1) probable number of the prostitutes engaged with U. S. soldiers; (2) fecundity of the above women (estimated from the general fertility rate of Korean females aged 15-39); (3) estimated infant mortality rate. According to the governmental statistics (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs 1966:30) and other institutional sources (Korea Yearbook Association 1961; Hakwon-sa 1963), there were approximately 23,000 prostitutes in 1965 and 17,000 in 1960. If the above trend were applicable retrospectively there might have been approximately 8,000 prostitutes in 1955, 4,000 in 1950, and 2,000 in 1945. This assumption is only for the exploratory purposes since there are no empirical data available for 1945-1955. Taking the year of 1955 as the median, one can use the figure of 8,000 as a basis of over-all estimate. However, not all of them were "G. I. entertainers." Assuming a half of them (4,000) were the category, one may be able to calculate the probable number of child births by these women (applying the general fertility ratio: 160/1,000). The number

would be then 640 per year (4,000 x 160/1,000). The infant mortality rate in 1955 is estimated as 40/1,000 (no reliable data available; the above rate is my own estimate with reference to the rates of Japan and Formosa in 1955). Thus, the number is reduced to 614. This number is multiplied by 20 (from 1945 to 1965), and the probable number of the total Amero-Korean children would be 12,280 (of which 6,293 have already been adopted by foreign countries and the rest of 5,987 are still remaining in Korea). For the information concerning general fertility ratio, see Economic Planning Board 1961:19; Thompson 1965:247-248. For the infant mortality rates in Asia, see United Nations 1960; Thompson 1965:357. For a different method of calculation, see Buck 1966:100-102. Harris mentioned that there were 50,000 "half-American" children in Korea alone quoting a Korean government official's letter (anonymous, no reference indicated) to him (Buck 1966:100). I find the method employed by the "Korean Government offical" unsound, and also no one in the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs supported such an estimation (interviews with Dr. Do Chang Kim, Vice Minister of Health and Social Affairs, Republic of Korea; Dr. Charles G. Chakerian, Social Welfare Consultant, Church World Service and Ministry of H. & SA; Miss Renee Gerard, United Nations Social Welfare Advisor; Mr. Youn Taek Tahk, President, Child Placement Service, Inc.; Mr. Choong Sik Lee, Director, Child Welfare Section, Ministry of H. and SA).

[8]Source: interview with Mr. Bleigh, Consul, United States General Consulate in Seoul, July 28, 1967. Of 1,671 marriages 1,271 were military personnels. Cf. ECLAIR 1965:2.

[9]Comparative data: According to the Ministry of Public Welfare, Japan, there were 3,972 konketsujis in 1953 (Interviews with Dr. Kobayashi, Chairman, Department of Research Material, Institute of Population Studies, August 28, 1967). Since then no survey has been conducted (see Atsumi 1967:196; Kosei Koho 1953:1-5; Kanzaki 1959:426). According to Pfaffenberger there were approximately 4,000 Mischlingskinder in the West German Republic on January 1, 1955. The estimated annual growth was 250 to 350(1956:33).

[10]These include novels and other non-scientific books written in Korean and English languages. Novels in Korean: Kim 1967; Pak 1965. Books in English: Buck 1964, 1966, 1968; Holt 1956.

[11]The patriarchal and patrilineal family system in Korea is called the chongbop (literally "right law"), diffused from China. "As the Chongbop system requires continuence of the family line as its prerequisite, the tendency is for high respect to be accorded the dignity of one's ancestors and individuals of a higher lineage demand unconditional respect from those in a lower position" (Hakwon-sa 1963:306; cf. Yim 1961; Holt 1956:70). This traditional residue is reflected by the recent attitude survey (involving 2,000 university students) conducted by the Korean National Commission for UNESCO in Seoul: "Sixty-five per cent said they would not care to marry spouses born out of wedlock. Tradi-

tional Confucian mores disapprove marrying an illegitimate person -- it is thought to bring shame to one's clan" (The Asian Student 1968).[b] Cf. also Lee, Chong-sik 1965:6.

[12]Interviews with Mr. Tahk, President, Child Placement Service (July 27, 1967), social workers at the above institution, and Amero-Korean children at the Holt Adoption Program, Inc. (August 3, 1967).

[13]Actually the term minjok has no English equivalent. It's meaning is more closer to Volk than "ethnic group" or "race". The words tanil minjok have often been mentioned by the Korean politicians and historians in order to enhance Korean nationalism, reminiscent of Ein Volk-theme. Cf. Han 1960:125.

[14]For the details on Korean pariah in social historical perspective, see Hurh 1965:26-27.

[15]Other nicknames include: "U.N. baby", senryo-no otoshiko ("bastard of Occupational Forces" in Japanese), and even "Special Forces Baby" (in Vietnam). See McDowell 1966; Trumbull 1967; Kanzaki 1959; Kim 1967. For ethnophaulism, see Palmore 1962; Carter 1944.

[16]Even before the diffusion of Western cosmetic culture, the Oriental women used white cosmetic powder extracted from the various plants. Note also some esthetic comperative expressions, e.g. baegog (white jewel)-like lady in Korean, or shirauo (white fish)-like delicate hands in Japanese.

[17]Based on my observation at Osan Air Base area during the military service, 1955-56. Cf. Pak 1965.

[18]During the latter part of Yi-Dynasty (1637-1896) the Korean ethnocentrism was especially codified by the self-imposed isolation from the world as a "Hermit Kingdom." This was primarily derived from the xenophobia developed among the bureaucrats and conservative Confucian literati, fearing "Barbarian intrusions" or foreign invasions. However, it was not due to their antagonism or hostility against any particular "races" (Hurh 1965:86-87). In the Far Eastern societies there have certainly been many heterogeneous ethnic groups (e.g. Manchus, Mongols, Yakuts, Turks, White Russians, Miaos and Yaos in China; Machus, Japanese in Korea; Ainus and Koreans in Japan) constituting the "minorities" based on their social, cultural and geographic ascription-differentials but not solely on racial origin (cf. Hsu 1955:341-348). The modern racism and racial discrimination, such as anti-Semitism, anti-miscegenation law, color-bar, and "race psychology" based on pseudo-scientific theories and political ideologies were not known in the East Asian societies (as in the case of Oriental despotism versus modern totaritarian dictatorship). Hsu wrote; "Chinese and American attitudes toward interracial marriage are a case in point. In one respect, Chinese are more sensitive on this score than Americans. ... However, a Chinese does not object to an interracial marriage unless one of his

children should be a party to it. This is not, as it might first appear, a bit of hypocracy. It simply means the Chinese opposition to an interracial marriage is personalized and concrete. It has nothing to do with any notions about maintaining 'racial purity,' but is concerned almost entirely with the possibility of social inconvenience" (1955:345).

[19]The Child Placement Service concucted I. Q. tests and attitudinal surveys in Seoul (1966-1967). The I. Q. tests were given to 59 Amero-Korean children (54 Caucasoid-Koreans and 5 Negroid-Koreans, aged 12-14). The I. Q. test results indicated no significant difference in intelligence between the Amero-Koreans and Koreans of the same age category. There was no significant difference between the Caucasoid-Koreans and Negroid-Koreans (cf. Eyferth 1959) either. The attitude survey was divided into two parts, a questionaire consists of 35 closed-end type questions for the mothers of Amero-Korean children and an other questionaire designed for the children to respond. The entire results of this survey had not fully been compiled at the time of my visit with the Child Placement Service, however, the interim analysis done by several social workers in the institution has already indicated the significant tendency concerning the "marginal personality characteristics" among the Amero-Korean children. Cf. Honhyl-adong Chosasoe (Mixed-Blood Children Survey), Child Placement Service, Seoul, 1967.

[20]Cf. Chakerian 1968.

[21]Interviews with Dr. Do Chang Kim, Vice Minister of Health and Social Affairs; Youn Taek Tahk, President, Child Placement Service, Inc.; Molly Holt, Holt Adoption Program, Inc.; Mrs. Yu Yun Hung, Director, Ae Hyang Orphanage, Pyong-Teck.

[22]The crude birth rate in Korea (1960) was approximately 40. Cf. Hakwon-sa 1963:290; Yang 1961.

[23]For comparative aspects (Japan, Germany, U. S. A.), see Trumbull 1967; Pfaffenberger 1956:36; Pettis 1958:31 and Kadushin 1967:488-492.

[24]An interview with Youn Taek Tahk, President, Child Placement Service, Inc.; cf. Holt 1956:119; McDowell 1966.

[25]The share of social welfare in the total national budget has shown a decreasing trend (5.91 per cent in 1960; 4.76 in 1965, and 3.34 in 1965). The Japanese government spent approximately 26 per cent of its total national budget for social welfare in 1967, and furthermore, Japan's child-welfare budget has doubled during the past 4 years. See Korean National Council of Social Welfare 1967:59; United Nations 1967; Atsumi 1967:73-74.

[26]Adminstrative policies of the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, Republic of Korea in 1967: (1) Maximum appropriation of welfare services; (2) Realization of child welfare; (3) Enhancement of labor technology.

[27] An interview with Dr. Do Chang Kim, Vice Minister of Health and Social Affairs, Republic of Korea.

[28] For the details on social problems, see Hakwon-sa 1963: 285-310; Ministry of Health and Social Affairs 1967a:13-32.

[29] The monthly consumption expenditure of an average family (6.2 persons) in Seoul was 12,590 won ($46) in 1965. See Seoul Metropolitan Government 1966:340-341.

[30] Cf. Friedlander 1968; Kadushin 1967; Maas 1959; Pettigrew 1964; Bossard 1966; Erikson 1963; Maier 1965; Chakerian 1968; Korean Council of Social Welfare 1967:73-91.

[31] I shall not discuss here in length concerning Bettelheim and Janowitz' thesis: "intimate contact with members of the minority does not seem to disintegrate prejudice held in regard to this group ... (1964:71). Mussen's study at an desegregated boys' camp (1950) seems to conform to the above theorem. However, the results obtained through observations of such a small, temporary (a few weeks), and relatively isolated group need careful evaluation before they are referred to a general theory. Attitudinal changes through intergroup contacts are depend upon the nature, duration, and intensity of contacts. Furthermore, there are additional variables, such as the socioeconomic statuses and personality characteristics of contact individuals. Unless these situational and personal variables are adequately taken into consideration a few sporadic

observations of specific small groups cannot simply yield a generalized theory of intergroup relations in a complex society of much larger scale and longer duration. As Cook indicated (1957), the relationship between contact and attitude change is also complicated by the old hen-and-egg question, namely which comes first -- the contact or the attitude change? In over-all consideration, despite of Mussen's findings, ample evidences have been found favoring desegregation (e.g. housing, school, army, industry, etc.) and "intimate contact" (from simple physical proximity to amalgamation through intermarriage) for the promotion of intergroup relations. See Wilner et al 1955; Cook 1957; U. S. War Department 1945; Minard 1952; Harding and Hogrefe 1952; Williams 1964; Clark 1950, 1953; Tumin 1958; Simpson and Yinger 1965:503-511. For the present study it is sufficient here to quote the statements made by 35 social scientists in the U. S. Supreme Court in 1952: "Segregation imposes upon individuals a distorted sense of social reality. Segregation leads to a blockage in the communications and interaction between the two groups. Such blockages tend to increase mutual suspicion, distrust and hostility. Segregation not only perpetuates rigid stereotypes and reinforce negative attitudes toward members of the other group, but also leads to the development of a social climate within which violent outbreaks of racial tensions are likely to occur" (U. S. Supreme Court 1952). Cf. Gouldner and Gouldner 1963: 295-302.

[32] In the Kap-o Reform Codes (1890) this point was clearly stated: "Only in case the legal spouse or concubine fails to bear a child can a child be adopted." Cf. Lee, Tae-yong 1964.

[33] There are approximately 411 different surnames in use in South Korea. Kim is the most popular name (21.5 per cent), the other names include Lee (17.6 per cent), Park (8.3 per cent), Choi (4.6 per cent) and Chung (4.1 per cent). Cf. The Asian Student 1968 a.

[34] The term "Yangban" (literally "two groups") was used to indicate two major bureaucratic branches (civil and military) during the Koryo and Yi Dynasties (918 - 1910), however, it came to denote landed gentry, Confucian literati, nobility or "gentleman" in general. As Lee, Chong-sik indicated (1965:6), "only the sons of legitimate marriages were allowed to take the highest grades of examinations." Cf. Yim 1961; Hurh 1965; Buck 1964:29.

[35] The myth concerning "Oriental infanticide" was clarified lucidly by Hsu (1955:71-73).

[36] The needs for institutional planning and coordination in the area of social research in Korea was extensively discussed by Steinberg (1967).

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